351 417 The enclosure (ingo) around the majority of the kraals both in Urundi and Ruanda is not only intended as a means of protection against human or animal intruders, but it also serves to enclose the family, especially the small children, and to keep the cattle penned in at night (Plate 20a, 21b). If the inhabitants have no cattle, they usually have no fences around their huts. This is the case, for example, in some mountain regions of northwest Urundi and in a few districts of western central Urundi. Wherever fences do exist, they are higher than a man so that one cannot see over them. Depending on what material is available, they consist of dry trunks of banana trees, sorghum stalks, papyrus shafts, or the dry branches of the Acanthus arboreus, roughly but firmly tied together, or they are formed by closely planted living dracaena, fig trees, or euphorbias. I never saw stones piled up so as to make a wall, although there are enough blocks of stone there to serve this purpose. The entrance to the kraal, which is flanked by two strong poles, is blocked at night by trunks placed across it. [24]

The kraals of the Batussi are in most cases more carefully and firmly enclosed than those of the Bahutu. In some areas settled predominantly by Batussi, for example, in the extensive highland pasture areas on the eastern slope of the peripheral mountains of Tanganyika on the upper Muwarasi, "each house is a small fortress with three concentric defenses. Within the protective wall (probably made of piled earth, there is a plaited cane fence, behind this one of euphorbias, and finally one made of thorns" (No. 8, p. 73).

351 248 Even when the hedge does not consist of fig trees planted close to one another, there are almost always a number of fig trees around the kraal, this being more often the case here than in Ruanda. These trees provide not only shade for the kraal, [287] but also bark which is used in a variety of ways, in particular for making clothes (Plate 18a, 21a). As in Ruanda, such circular groups of fig trees enable one to note the sites of former kraals, particularly those of chiefs, many years after the huts have

304 171 around Lake Victoria, among the Bassuwi, Basindja, Baha, Wassumbwa, etc. -- while, according to H. Rehse, the Basiba [Haya] do not tattoo themselves -- so it is much more likely to assume diffusion from the Bantu and Nilotes to the Batussi and a further development of tattooing by the latter. The tattoos of the Somali, Galla, Massai [Masai], etc., look quite different. A report by H. H. Johnston gives some indication of the wider context. According to him, the crescent-shaped scar tattoo, of which he gives a photograph (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 569), is also found among the Bakonjo [Konjo], who are probably the oldest Bantu race [30] in Unjoro, Toro, and Ankole, while the large mass of the Banjoro [Nyoro] in Unjoro, who are an important mixed race consisting of Bantu, Nilotic, and Bahima elements, do not tattoo themselves.

304 In Urundi I did not observe any tattooing on women and children. It was impossible to find out anything definite about the meaning of the patterns. I would doubt that they are intended to represent horns of cattle, as has been claimed by a missionary.

"Decorative disfigurements" of the ears (ear blocks), nose (nose pegs), the lips (pelele), the teeth (notches or filing), or other parts of the body are found in Urundi neither among the Batussi nor among the Bahutu, and this is also true of Ruanda. The Batwa, however, sharpen the two upper incisors. Also, neither cutting of the genitalia among either sex, deformation of the head, nor other such things are practiced. It is not until one descends to the west, east, or south from the interlacustrine plateau that one once more finds tribes with disfigurements of the body.

●[287] 439 177 Urundi is still the country of clothing made from barkcloth (impusu). Except for the peripheral areas in the southeast, south, and west where foreign trade, to which the rest of the country has been barred until recently, supplies cotton material, a piece of "Amerikani" or a cotton blanket used for clothing is still a rarity in Urundi. It was not until recently that more cotton material was introduced into the country by the few licensed traveling merchants, the missions, and the passing caravans

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

29/ Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
386 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 386 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro) produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 248 The material is made from the barks of several fig species (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by
[462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their
[301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu.
[292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

2: Meyer--270 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 36

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4/2

Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--271 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 37

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291

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531
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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. – No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

His peculiar cry of "a ba ba ba...," pronounced in a virile tone, recalls that Binego had great strength and invincible courage.

3. Mugasa is Ryangombe's son-in-law.

His adepts imitate him by flinging two goatskins over their body and by adopting as their peculiar insignia a household spatula holding a piece of sorghum bread. Mugasa had a weakness for sorghum bread and goat meat. To honor him his disciples adopt the same customs and habits as their master. For some reason, they clink a necklace made of small pieces of dried wood which is usually strung around the neck of children to amuse them or keep them from crying (inkondo z' ibichuma).

His special cry is "yee yee ye...."

4. Nyabirungu, son of Ryangombe, was a hunter.

His impersonator rings a small bell (of the type strung around the neck of dogs), symbol of the hunt, and cries "i i i..." to recall that Nyabirungu would return satisfied from the forest with a large provision of game.

5. Luhanga, son of Ryangombe.

He symbolizes filial love because he rescued his mother from poverty when she was abandoned by Ryangombe, built her a beautiful hut, and provided for her needs.

He is represented in the ceremonies with a milk container full of beer, perhaps in order to recall the happy mother who, thanks to him, no longer lacked anything.

6. Nyakiriro, son of Ryangombe.

7. Kagoro, like his brother Nyabirungu, loved to hunt, hence the dogs at his side. He had /365/ the habit of covering his head with a piece of mpuzu, a fabric made of ficus bark, of drinking out of a hollowed half gourd fashioned for this purpose (uruho), and of using a twig (umutozo) to blend curdled milk properly before taking it. Those who invoke him feel that they honor him by imitating him, that is to say, by copying his gestures and deeds.

8. Muzana is represented as a slave girl in the ceremonies.

She is honored by the Batutsi, who represent her by the side of a cow who has never lost a calf (inka y' issugi), a churning gourd, and a small pat of rancid butter (isimbo y'amavuta).

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

. They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287] [413]

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break.

The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

Preparation of Barkcloth. The making of barkcloth (mpuzu) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers (imango) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

[159] Dressing Skins. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (mbaro). This process is known as kuhara. The first layer that is removed is called imishishwa; the second imiharamuro; the third, inkuru. After that the pierced edge is